1: Jenness--158 (1913-16) 1922 - Copper Eskimo
116, 581

"In the eyes of the Copper Eskimos, celibacy in either sex is a contemptible condition. A man is the natural complement of a woman, a woman of a man; neither is complete without the other. There are no crafts or professions among them, no food stores or clothing establishments where they can barter for what they need. A woman is dependent on a man for shelter and for food, and a man needs a woman to dress the meat and skins of the game he kills, to cook his food and make his clothing. Every boy and every girl therefore expects to marry at no very distant period in life. Owing to the preponderance of males over females, and to occasional instances of polygamy, a man may sometimes be unable to find a wife until he is well in his prime; but every native marries sooner or later in life, unless he is a cripple and cannot support a wife or is disqualified in some other way. In the settlement at Bernard harbour in November, 1915, thirty-eight out of the forty-six men were married, two of them to one woman; of the eight unmarried men four were widowers and two mere boys hardly old enough to marry. Thirty-nine of the forty-two women were married (one man had three wives), two of the others were widows of forty-five years or more, and the third was a young girl who had just been divorced and was about to marry again. A settlement at Tree river about a month later consisted of eleven married couples and their children and one unmarried young man."

1: Jenness--160 (1913-16) 1922 Copper Eskimo
116, 581

"It often happens that a girl is divorced, or divorces herself, two or three times within a year. On the other hand instances of genuine affection are not at all uncommon, even before a child is born to cement the union. Avranna and Milukkattak might often be seen stretched out on the bed-skins in their hut pressing noses and caressing each other, wholly oblivious of the presence of other natives around them. Milukkattak would go out hunting with him, and sealing too at times, so that they might not be separated for a single hour. In February, 1916, Avranna accompanied me on a visit to the Bathurst inlet natives. Milukkattak wanted to go too, but as her time of delivery was near it was thought advisable for her to remain behind. She entreated me to look after her husband, not to allow any eastern woman to seduce his affections but to bring him safely back again. We were absent only a few weeks, but Avranna was worried about his wife all the time; he was certainly the happiest man in all the country when he joined her again and saw a little baby face peering over her shoulder."

6: Roberts and Jenness--13-14 (1914-1916) 1925 Copper Eskimo
581, 831

"Two subjects are noticeably lacking [JMR: in dance songs], war and love.... The passion of love had little place in their lives, owing to the hard struggle for existence, early marriages, and the looseness of the marriage tie. [14] Celibacy holds no joy for either sex; the man needs a wife to prepare his food, and to make clothing and a tent from the caribou skins he secures; and the woman needs a husband to provide her with all three necessities of life, food, clothing, and shelter. Beauty in form or face are of very minor importance. Every native marries at an early age, with few preliminaries and with no romance."

29: Jenness E-5 (1914-1916) 1959
ND8 Copper Eskimo ND8

guide and asked, "Who is this woman, and why does she follow us?" "It's only Snow-Knife's wife," he answered. "She is coming with us to visit her two sisters. Don't trouble about her. She will stay with me throughout our journey, and in the meantime my wife will live with Snow-Knife."

Marriage here was evidently not the institution we are taught to reverence. This woman had openly traded husbands for a few days in order to visit her relatives; and there were times when men seemed to exchange wives without even that excuse. I had read of the custom in books, but its impression was different when it occurred before my own eyes without the least attempt at concealment. It became more intelligible later, with fuller knowledge of their domestic life. The people were not really immoral, for they were doing no wrong according to the standards of life handed down to them through countless generations; and the transfer of wedlock was not made indiscriminately, but according to definite regulations. A man often had wives in half a dozen different tribes, some of whom he saw only once in his lifetime; and the wives had other husbands. But their children were all his children, forbidden to marry one another; and if ever he visited the tribe to which one of his wives belonged he received a cordial welcome, and was free to hunt and seal in its territory like the regular members of the community. A stranger in an Eskimo tribe

29: Jenness E-5 (1914-1916) 1959
ND8 Copper Eskimo ND8

the booming of the drum. Were there no war-songs, no chants of victory? They asked me what war meant, for they knew of no enemies except the Indians far to the south, whom they seldom saw and carefully avoided. Surely, then, there were love-songs, songs in which the youth declared his passion and praised his fair one's beauty. No, life was hard, marriage a necessity for all. The maiden must wed a hunter who could provide her with food, clothing, and shelter, and the youth must seek out a bride who would prepare his food and sew his garments. If couples failed to agree, they could separate and find other mates. Beauty, that soon faded, did not help them in the struggle for life's necessities, and romance was stifled. The dance-house was the social hearth. There they chanted their prayers to the mystic powers that controlled the weather, that could shatter the ice-fields or withhold the game; and there, in song, they narrated their adventures and retailed the news from distant tribes. The incantations were their prayers, the dance-songs their chronicle of current events. Ikpuck sang of our polar-bear hunt, and song and story spread far along the coast, growing more garbled and unintelligible at every stage of their journey. The words of his song mattered little; every dancer could improvise new syllables, like the foreigner who sings Italian opera. What counted most was the new melody, bringing joy to the hearts of a people who found in music their